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577 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I
181 was deceiving them. Only actual preparations convinced them. In fact, Fenton the Interpreter, who insisted that I really meant to leave, was reprimanded by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way; we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *fui hatol*,
[illegible] to persuade with false promises; *-hol*, to prevaricate; *-hora*, to deceive with threats or intent to frighten; *likda*, to slant (distort) meaning, to speak crookedly; *rima*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tafaiahdia*, to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *tanai tanga*, to talk at random without regard for truth; *-tuura*, to deny falsely. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pat-
[illegible] tern of mistrusting spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost early in life, persists throughout adult experiences and reaches its fullest expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of finance.

845 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the disci-
567 plinary techniques used to bring young children into social alignment.
855 Use of this device continues in late childhood. Obviously, however, bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. Formerly the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of
[illegible] slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop approximately twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very frequent occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being bought and sold by people from Atimelang, so that the practice must have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retribution were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose parents were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright or used in a dowry and bride-price exchange. Such children seemed usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or two, always being moved farther from their original village until finally they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members
567 of the family, but a special term (*maiya*) was applied to them.
853 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

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a large number of its members from successfully achieving the desired goal, we have the problem of discovering which people are disfranchised and what compensatory roles they may play. In Atimelang, as in many other cultures, the female half of the population is debarred from cultural goals on a sex basis; women must either break with the cultural tradition, surrender any claim to the major prestige rewards of their culture, or derive it vicariously through aligning themselves with a successful male.

This last device may apply to groups of males also, as among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, where a sib functions as a unit feeding the prestige activities of a titular head. In other societies with structuralized rank or with castes, large parts of the population are given restricted status positions that remove them from any competitive effort for prestige. In Atimelang it is assumed that all males will enter the competitive system. In fact, every man is practically forced into it if he is to marry and if he is to retain his health by placating in death feasts the potential malignancy of dead kin.

Overtly no differences in wealth are allowed for in middle age. Every middle-aged man who is married, has given a feast, or been associated with any transaction amounting to about one hundred dollars is called a rich man (*kafaksi*). There are no formal terms for degrees of wealth, except by adding an intensifier, *berka*, meaning in this case "powerful," "potent," although, significantly enough, the more usual meaning is "bad." It is not customary to use this term, however, unless one wishes to flatter a man. Conversely the most bitter insult is to call a man "poor." Actually there seems to be no simple word meaning poor. One can say, "He has nothing" (*nala hopa naba*), or one can say, "Sctang," meaning worthless, of no account. This, incidentally, is a term of reproach that is very frequently shouted at troublesome and naughty children.

The system of making no overt, outspoken distinctions in respect to wealth is carried even further. It will be recalled that an expression of opinion about physical appearance was hard to get. The same applied to all kinds of derogatory or flattering distinctions. It was just as difficult to procure a social judgment about a man's industry, his honesty, or his skill in craftsmanship. Good manners require that everyone, verbally at least, be granted an equal ranking even in the face of glaring discrepancies. When I discussed the matter with a young man, he said, "If anyone heard that I had said he was less rich, less industrious, or less handsome, he would be ashamed and would want to fight with me. He would be angry." Linguistically there is an interesting correlate of

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or undertaking reminds them that an image should be carved and fed. It was said previously in connection with skills that the carvings of such spirits are usually crudely done, and after the sacrifices they are ignored and often allowed to rot away.

## CONCLUSIONS

The attitude toward carvings might lead some people to the generalization that the Atimelangers' attitude is spiritual rather than materialistic, that they worship the essence and not the substance. When we look at all the evidence presented to date, a preferable interpretation might be that the Atimelangers are as exploitative in their relationship to the supernatural as they are to humans and that only a threat of danger makes them placatory.

A linguistic hint concerning their attitude toward supernatural beings may be contained in the generic term for them, good-bad (*kang-berka*), which suggests a parallel to the positive-negative aspects of human relationships. If we consider all supernaturalism as projections of the current attitudes of a group of people plus varying amounts of wishful thinking, we have in the foregoing description of religion an epitome of the modal personality of Atimelang. It is as though the group itself gave us in its religious beliefs and practices at least a clue to those generalizations about personality for which we are searching. Again, this generalization must not be interpreted as characterizing all Atimelangers. Malelaka's autobiography and dreams, and to a lesser extent Rilpada's, indicate that there are individuals who use the concepts of the supernatural for purposes of projecting all their desires for nurturing and solicitous relationships. They call their familiar spirits "friends" and consider them the sources of advice, gifts, and power. In Atimelang I suspect that these are the people who more than any others serve to keep alive religious activities and speculations.